1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgd*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (2), 140–147, (3), 288, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apaches. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 65; Lowie, (2), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except
[591] that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bridegroom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile.
● 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife.
[59] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to
593 sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter.
[586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [404]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [85]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 862 834 836

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[171] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimise marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

● 585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[559] observance of these customs now leads uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in
the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to rec-
ognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be sur-
reptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial
marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain
or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes
trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, *trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occur-*
rence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy. "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[949] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
587 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
183 marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
582 as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistance, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 589 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nuclear-familial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1938, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 10 or 20 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1960, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[777] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

927 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 233) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 233) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

rising children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 333), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 588

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife. In the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

595 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and [581] duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 324) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 324).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as in the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach
F 43 maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers
551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed
F 23 that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared,
778 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy.
868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters
F 82 very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

577 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday
F 28 the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During
517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accommodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish
F 33 they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 (614) (198) Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasŭwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matčkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chŭchchém, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

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764 (197) Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

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755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum.

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